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OF VICTORY"

A CRITICISM OF PROPORTIONAL
REPRESENTATION ANSWERED

OTTAWA, LONDON AND SCOTTISH LETTERS
From Our Own Correspondents.

OFFICIAL ORGAN,
FIFTH SUNDAY
MEETING ASSOCIATION
OF CANADA

MONTREAL, MAY 15th, 1920
Vol. 2, No. 20
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Tariff Research Bureau, Too

(By GEORGE PIERCE.)

REPORTS come from Ottawa that the Government, with the hearty accord of the Opposition, has decided to institute a scientific research bureau which will be modelled closely after the British and American institutes. The broad aim is to develop the natural resources of Canada by the application of scientific study and research. Special attention is to be given to the utilization of wastes, and the application of the newer processes of development in industry will receive the attention of experts specially qualified by training and experience to select the most practical methods. Permit me as a trade unionist to extend to the Government my heartiest approval for this, the most constructive measure brought forward by the Unionist Government since it stepped into power.

To begin the development of the wonderful natural resources of the richest dominion on earth, is worthy of the mettle of real men. It is, however, perfectly logical that similar methods should be applied to handle the products when they have been discovered, developed or reclaimed. In the intricate processes which are necessary before the raw products can be delivered to the final consumer, the question of properly protecting the new-born industries is of paramount importance. If a free trade policy were adopted, how would these infant industries be made to prosper, and does it not appear to be logical that if so much research and science is needed to discover and develop our natural resources, that the same scientific methods should be applied in formulating the tariffs that will determine the future destiny of embryonic industries. The establishment of a permanent scientific Tariff Board to fix the tariff regulations along scientifically economic lines is the logical twin-brother of the research department. One is the natural outgrowth of the other. One cannot succeed without the other. It is undeniable that if reasons exist to institute the one,

then the same reasons demand the establishment of the other. The Americans have already carried this idea into execution. If we hope to compete with them, then we must keep pace with them when we find their experimental experiences have met with success.

Those in Canada who oppose the Tariff Board always begin with a declaration that you "can't take the tariff out of politics". Admitted — but who is there silly enough to propose to take the tariff out of politics? Everyone understands that the fiscal policy is the most important affair and business of Parliament. Nobody proposes that the Tariff Board should usurp the powers of Parliament. What would be the use of Parliament if its powers over the finances of the country were shorn? The thousands of manufacturers throughout the country, the hundreds of trades unions, the hundreds of thousands of individual trade unionists throughout the country who have supported the Tariff Board, never proposed to take the tariff out of politics. All are of one voice and one opinion, however, on the subject of taking the politics out of the tariff. The skeptic who has given no study to the subject immediately says, "Well, how are you going to do it?" And the answer is, "We propose to accomplish it after observing the operation of the American Board," which is a practical fact. The American Board was established in 1909, and by its reports of 1919 it has justified its existence beyond all expectations. The men who constitute the American Board are removed from all political influences, just as we have isolated our judiciary. American tariffs are now adjusted through scientific research by trained investigators. The wonderful trade expansion of American industries can be directly traced to the American Tariff Board, which has placed at the disposal of manufacturers the most valuable commercial information. It is no longer possible, in the United States, for the manufacturer with a "pull," to rush up before the Ways and Means Committee, make whatever statements it pleased him to make, and secure whatever tariff he wanted. This haphazard, pork barrel, partisan and nefarious system is a thing of the past in the United States. The American Board is purely an advisory Board. It gathers the facts and makes its recommendations, but it enacts no legislation. This is exactly what we propose in Canada, a scientific advisory Board which will mete out business justice to all classes. A Board of this kind spells stability, and stability is the one thing essential to the healthy and prosperous development of Canadian industry.

Is it possible, with the history of the American Board an open book, with thousands of Canadian manufacturers clamoring for it, with hundreds of thousands of trades unionists endorsing it, that this Government will

remain insensible to the situation? Is it possible, when it is a matter of fact that it was the farmers of the United States more than any other section of the community which demanded the institution of the American Tariff Board, that under such circumstances with the manufacturers and the workers and science itself combined, the Government will deny the establishment of a scientific advisory Tariff Board? If so, then we shall certainly demand to know the exact reasons for the refusal. The whole campaign will be placed before every trade unionist in the country. Every individual member will be asked to communicate with his representative. We shall undoubtedly demand a reason from the Government, why the old pot-luck methods are preferred by our law-makers to the modern, scientific, constructive methods which have been so successfully practised in the United States. And one thing must be clearly understood. If labor is to progress it must have employment. In order to have employment, the factories must be in operation. Business men generally admit that fifty per cent of the factories in Canada would close if a free trade policy became effective. In fear of the approaching crisis in our fiscal affairs, big establishments are cutting down their plans of expansion. A great majority of the industrial establishments have already laid all plans for development on the table. This is a very serious situation for of the tariff. We respectfully await

the working man, even at this hour.

We have said before, and we reiterate it now, we protest against becoming the football of parties and politics. We demand stability in industry. These never-ending tariff fights and election contests are of no benefit to labor. They never have been and they never will be.

We respectfully request from this Government, and the request is earnestly backed by many hundreds of resolutions from the trade unions, by the combined sentiments of hundreds of thousands of workmen and some eight thousand manufacturers in Canada, that a permanent advisory Tariff Board be established, not for the purpose of taking the tariff out of politics, but for the distinct object of insuring stability by taking politics out of the action of the Government in regard to this matter. If a Tariff Board is denied to us, we shall certainly demand an explanation. Hundreds of thousands will demand it from the four corners of this Dominion.

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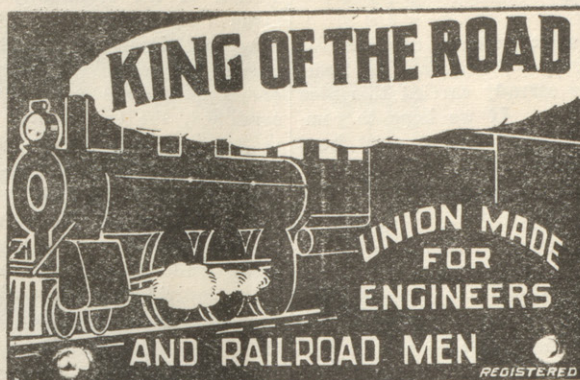
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A Free Trader's View

Editor, Canadian Railroader,

You will not be surprised if your persistence in the appointment of a tariff commission, in taking tariff out of politics, in adopting a scientific tariff, etc., and finally holding up before your labor reader the old exploded full dinner-pail bogey, calls for reply from some of your readers who have also given thought to this great question.

You quote in eulogistic terms ex-President Taft's appointment of a tariff commission of two college professors, an editor, a congressman and employee of the custom's department. You speak at some length of the scientific composition of this commission, it will take tariff out of politics, it will inform the government from time to time as to scientific changes needed, etc. Now with the exception of the one politician on this commission who by force of circumstances has probably studied the matter, there is nothing to show that these men possess any useful knowledge on the subject nor could they learn in a life time of study what the practical man has at his finger's ends, who has actually been bartering with many countries of the world for a whole business career. We have college professors who are avowed protectionists and who have never put forth any other argument than "keep the other fellow out" and do the usual stunt of flying the flag, while the professor in the other country strongly adopts the same "scientific methods." We have other professors who are avowed free traders and so the game goes on purely sentimental grounds. The fact is, tariff in its last analysis, is

an attempt to change the natural course of human endeavor and being itself, of course, unnatural can find no haven in the scientific world and to even mention it in scientific breath would itself be a misfit.

The work of such commissions as you propose has already become such as farce in this country as to be a mere laughing matter amongst most of the people; this in itself would not be serious were it not for the appalling waste of money used in their support. You say that 1,600 labor unions endorse the project. This, of course, does not mean much, as ninety per cent. of these men, at least to date, follow their leader. I presume the most intelligent labor men and labor leaders in the world at the present time, at least, are to be found in the British Isles. They want no tariff or tariff commission. In your own paper, your correspondent from Manchester describes the beginning of the building of 2,000 houses by the trades unions for their fellow workmen. Are our Canadian workmen in a position to undertake such a proposition although they have had the benefits of protection during their whole labor career, even though thousands will be practically without a shingle over their heads May 1st. next?

Your editorial re farmers deserve special mention. You say you do not understand his free trade attitude. This I quite believe. I was reared on a farm and think I understand him well and have come to this conclusion, the up-to-date farmer is the strongest member physically, mentally, and I may say morally, of the race. He lives the most natural life,

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his library is the most wholesome reading that he can procure, his mind is not even contaminated or rent asunder by listening to cheap shows, cheap lectures and even great professors who are as a rule pretty evenly divided upon all great questions. This question of tariff he has diligently studied for years, in fact rather than theory; that he should decide that it is a scientific failure is quite clear to me.

Now a word regarding the non-political aspect of your proposed commission. Parliament cannot appoint such a committee, doing so would practically be conferring upon it legislative power; all committees must simply report back to house, place their report on the table from which it must run the usual political gauntlet.

Delightful phrases and beautiful paintings cannot make a scientific beauty out of unnatural monstrosity. The tariff has always been a feather bed for the cheap politician who will adopt either view held by his community and climb into parliament. It will always be thus till the people are educated to see that there is only one cure for a known nuisance.

Allan L. Smith.

:o:

A LIVING WAGE.

To the Editor of the
Canadian Railroader:—

A letter which appeared recently in the Montreal Star reads in part as follows:—

"By way of conclusion please let me suggest to the Lord's Day Alliance if they are so deeply imbued with the spirit of charity towards the poor working man, let them make use of their best endeavor to obtain for them a living wage. This would redound to their everlasting credit down through the ages, rather than trying to deprive him of the only recreation he can get one day out of seven."

Here I am puzzled, and would ask the writer to define a living wage. The standard of living varies from the crown to the pauper. When he has decided which of those standards he means, I will ask him how he proposes to determine the wage required to maintain that standard.

I would suggest for the writer's information or anyone who may chance to read this, that labor is the price of everything except the material in its crude state which God or Nature furnished absolutely free to man. How is it that labor furnishes all necessities, comfort and luxury in the world and yet has to live in squalor? It is because labor is robbed of what it produces in order to pay the interest on sums lent by the large "pawn shops" called banks. That interest must be paid before the laborer gets his wages.

Take, for instance, the case of a man who, by means of rigid economy, saves enough to build a house. Before he starts to build, he must submit his plans to the authorities, and, at the same time, state the estimated cost of the building. As soon as the home is built, a tax is levied upon it. Why? For service rendered by the municipality? Let us examine the situation more closely. The moment a house is built it is an asset on which to borrow money. The city is the tax-gatherer which pays the interest on the debt, and the builder is the sub-tax-gatherer who collects the tax from the tenant and hands it over to the city. The builder is known as the landlord, but the term is misplaced. The bank or "pawn shop" is the landlord, and if the builder fails to collect or pay the tax, his building is confiscated and placed in the hands of someone else who will collect the tax. If this tax were for the benefit of the people there would be no cause for complaint, but if any new enterprise is undertaken the "pawn shop" is again resorted to and an extra tax is levied to pay the interest.

In conclusion, it is well to remember that advancing wages lower the purchasing power of money, so that no matter how much wages the laborer receives, he has to pay it back again for what he purchases plus the increased interest owing to the decreased value of money.

The laborer who wishes to improve his condition must seek to do so through another channel. Let him lay hold on education and all the rest will be added unto him. It is only when he is sufficiently educated that he will secure the product of his labor and not before.

A Veteran in the Army of Labor.

Our OTTAWA LETTER

(From our own Correspondent)

SIR ROBERT BORDEN has now set his face northward to the land of his birth and ere these lines are in print will be in Ottawa communing with the faithful chieftains who have held the fort in his absence. From all accounts he is travelling in considerable style with a special train and a troupe of retainers. Time was when Sir Robert was most unpretentious in his habits; a single secretary and quiet rooms in an obscure hotel sufficed for his modest wants. Nowadays he likes vassals galore and expensive suites in New York's latest hostelry. Such is one of the fruits of mingling with the great ones of this earth at Peace Conferences.

The meeting between Sir Robert and his captains will bear close resemblance to the scene when the Old Pretender met the Jacobite nobles of Scotland on the eve of the rebellion of 1715. They will all be gloomy and despondent, they will feel they are facing certain defeat, but they will also know there is nothing to do but to muster their forces and go ahead with the enterprise to which they have set their hand.

Nor is Sir Robert the manner of man who will lighten their gloom. If Mr. Rogers were in his shoes, at a similar crisis, he would, Mr. Rowell permitting, organize gay festivities of reunion, where good fare and optimistic oratory would have revived the most down-east spirit. But that is not Sir Robert's way. He will have conferences, collective and individual, and out of the medley of conflicting accounts and tales he will endeavor to sift a reasonable modicum of accurate facts, by which he can steer his course. Inevitably everything depends upon the state of his health and what that is remains a secret shared by Providence, his physician and himself.

Apparently he escaped the attentions of Dr. J. D. Reid, who failed to reach him ere he started north, so that he will at least have the advantage of returning with an open mind. Few people expect that he will agree to any permanent resumption of the duties of the Premiership. The best that is hoped is that he will agree to remain the titular leader of the party till certain necessary tasks are safely accomplished. These are the settlement of a platform, the establishment of an organization and the reorganization of the Cabinet, all of which must be undertaken in the near future. On all these subjects there are conflicting ideas within the Cabinet and the Coalition ranks, and even Mr. Lloyd George, who has incomparably greater aptitudes than Sir Robert for dealing with a complicated political situation, would find the circumstances sufficiently baffling.

However, the advent of the Premier cannot fail to offer some hope of enlivening the dullness of Ottawa, which reduces to despair all whose duties bring into contact with it. Sir George Foster has announced that

failing unforeseen circumstances the Budget will be brought down on Wednesday, May 12th, and Sir Robert will therefore have an opportunity of looking over it.

One of the chief events of the past week, was the performance of one Brigadier-General Hugh H. Maclean, who made in the Pensions Committee, in an effort to balk any increase of pensions, the unfortunate remark that the wives of most private soldiers were originally in the servant class and should not be discouraged by large pensions from going to work. As was to be expected these views have aroused a tornado of protest from every Veterans' Association in the country and General Maclean has safely established his reputation as a model of supercilious snobbery.

Col. Peck, V.C., and Capt. Cooper, two soldier members of the Committee, have resigned in protest against his remarks and against the clumsy attempts the following days to cover up and explain away the faux pas. The explanation was almost worse than the original and evidently the master hand of Mr. Meighen had not been requisitioned. Mr. Hume Cronyn, Chairman of the Committee, has attempted to make an explanation in the House, but was debarred by failure to obtain the unanimous consent which was necessary.

General Maclean is a "Liberal for revenue only," but was also a frantic Imperialist. It is understood that he prides himself immensely on a distinguished Highland lineage, but in view of such utterances it will require very strong genealogical proof to make one believe that he is descended from any of the three ancient houses of the Clan Maclean. None of the warrior blood of Ardgour or Lochbuie would ever have given vent to such sentiments. The Ottawa Citizen very properly points out that General Maclean might almost be taken to be in the servant class himself.

However, it would be wrong to lay too much stress upon the unfortunate general's words. He has revealed himself for what he is and he has given timely intimation to the plain people of Canada of the exact attitude of mind of a powerful and numerous class in the community who hold that the mass of mankind are irrevocably destined to toil and slave in providing them with wealth, comfort and social position. What General Maclean said scores of others both in Parliament and outside of it are thinking, and till the democracy wakes up and uses its power will continue to think so with impunity.

General Maclean is doubtless of the opinion that his standing as a corporation counsel entitles him to a very high social position. Possibly he is not aware that the social positions of lawyers is a thing of very recent date. In the seventeenth century the profession of attorney was one of the meanest, and men like Lord Falkland

spoke of those who followed it with supreme contempt. Even as late as the beginning of the nineteenth, great ornaments of the law like Samuel Romilly were regarded as "not quite gentlemen" by the Whig nobility of England. So the General should realize that the emergence of his own class from the status of servants is very recent and the Citizen may be right in suspecting that he himself has not emerged.

The week began with a plea by Mr. Mackenzie King against late sittings. His chief ground of complaint being that too little time was left for the preparation necessary for dealing with the next day's work. Sir George was sympathetic, but pointed out that there was a considerable volume of business to be undertaken, that the summer was calling, and if the Coalition, whose members were of a greater average age, could face late sittings, surely the Opposition could do likewise. He would agree to be as considerate as possible but he could give no guarantees and definite promises.

Then followed a discussion over the Industrial Disputes Act which resolved itself into a desultory duel between Mr. Meighen and Mr. King. The latter had the wider special knowledge of the subject and more than once tied up the Minister of the Interior in knots. There was a maiden speech from the new member for Temiskaming, Mr. Angus Macdonald, who pointed out how unworkable was one of the clauses. He is a middle-aged, well-built man who evidently has considerable knowledge and possesses opinions which he is not afraid to express. He is the first member since Confederation who has been elected to Ottawa by purely Labor votes in opposition to both the old parties; there have been Labor members before, but only by the grace of the Liberals or Tories. In his way Mr. Macdonald is as much a portent as Keir Hardie was in the British House in 1892.

The Government are becoming acutely aware of the growing strength of the Labor movement and they are paying court to it in various ways. In the Senate, Senator Robertson is moving to repeal the obnoxious deportation clauses inserted last summer in the Immigration Act by that great democrat Mr. Calder. The Minister of Labor categorised them as disgraceful, but Senator Bradbury and other members of the Upper Chamber thought their abrogation a dangerous move. Not long ago Senator Casgrain, a distinguished Liberal Senator, publicly expressed his desire to see some great man arise who would save Canada from the tyranny of the trades unions. Of such stuff is our Upper Chamber made.

The Government by this move are going to escape from a position of which a skilful opponent could have made much. It is an open secret that Mr. King was strongly urged to demand the repeal of these amendments at the opening of the session, but he did nothing, and allowed the weeks to slip by. He had a glorious opportunity for delivering a deadly

attack upon the Government, painting them as subverters of the principles of liberty and showing discrimination against the British born. Imagine how a first class political strategist like Mr. George would have seized the opening.

A week ago a Liberal member decided to move for their repeal of his own bat, but found the Government had forestalled him and now the Opposition will not get a word of credit for doing anything in the matter.

On Tuesday Mr. R. L. Richardson, the member for Springfield, raised the question of the merger of the Steel and Shipping Industries of Canada. During the earlier sessions of this Parliament Mr. Richardson seemed to have lost all his old democracy and to have become a subservient tool of the Government, but this session, he has showed a most commendable measure of independence and has made some excellent speeches in defence of popular rights. Speaking at considerable length he exposed the whole evil of mergers and declared that the great curse of high finance in this country was over-capitalisation of which this merger was a glaring example. He ended up by beseeching the Cabinet to keep a vigilant eye on the public interests.

Almost a dozen other members followed with their views. Mr. Bristol and Mr. E. W. Nesbitt were on hand to explain how virtuous and patriotic Col. Grant Morden and his associates were, and Mr. D. D. Mackenzie, whose constituency of Cape Breton is implicated, gave the project his blessing. Dr. Clark pointed out the economic causes of mergers and suggested the Government should remove them rather than deal with the product. Mr. Vien and Mr. Currie were both friendly to the scheme, Mr. Mackenzie King was discreetly non-committal, and Sir George Foster promised that the public interest would be watched over with tender care. Very strong criticism came from Mr. W. F. Maclean and J. E. Armstrong. This discussion occupied most of the afternoon and then amendments to the Canada Shipping Act and the Oleomargarine Act received their third readings.

Some further progress is committee was made with the Industrial Disputes Act. Then the House turned once more to the Franchise Act and there was a running discussion with-

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out any bitter arguments upon polling arrangements and other details.

On Wednesday Mr. Casgrain withdrew his motion about the Board of Commerce. A great mystery still surrounds the resignation of Judge Robson, the Chairman. At any rate, Sir George Foster will only agree to bring down such correspondence as is in the public interest, an excuse which will cover a multitude of sins.

After the Inspection and Sale Act had been given a second reading, the Franchise Act was once again tackled. Mr. Tweedie of Calgary, who regards the Farmers' movement with positive horror and disgust, moved an amendment seeking to debar as candidates any member who had signed "any agreement, whether amounting to resignation or a recall" and he waxed very eloquent upon the need for this protection of the independence of Parliament. He precipitated a most interesting debate in which Dr. Edwards, Mr. Best and others seized the occasion to attack the Farmers' party, which favors the idea of the recall, and Dr. Clark, Mr. Reid and others replied with some heat and vigor. The Government and Mr. King were more or less neutral, but the latter made a really excellent short speech on the subject of the recall. Eventually the amendment was negatived.

Then, after the Indians who served in the war were given the vote, the thorny clause dealing with the alien vote was reached. Mr. Guthrie moved the amendment, the terms of which had been previously announced in the House, and it was keenly debated. Mr. W. D. Euler, who made such a good speech on the rights of aliens to the franchise earlier in the progress

of the bill, attacked the Guthrie amendment, and demanded the repeal of the whole clause.

On Thursday the discussion was continued, and all manner of people, ranging from Mr. Rowell to Mr. Nicholson of Algoma (who, after a long and much appreciated silence is giving tongue again), participated in the debate, which was kept at a fairly high level. In the main it was conducted on party lines, but the cross benches were in the main with the Opposition in their stand for greater liberality of treatment. Both sides are firm in their position and the argument will be continued next week. It has been decided that polling time in the cities shall be from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., but the polls will open two hours later in the country.

On Friday the House went into supply and heard an interesting account from Mr. Meighen of the progress of the Soldiers' Settlement Board's operations. But Mr. Meighen on a subject in which a partisan view is not involved and he can rise almost to higher flights of statesmanship than any of his contemporaries in Canadian politics. There were a few criticisms, but he received many compliments, and in the main they were well deserved. In the evening, Mr. Hume Cronyn in a thoughtful and well-delivered speech commended to the Government the consideration of the recommendations contained in the First Report of the Committee on Scientific Research. It recommended the establishment of a National Research Institute near Ottawa of the best modern construction and suitable for laboratory work, and asked the House to appropriate \$650,000 for the

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building, equipment and salaries. The report met with general approval and the suggestion with endorsement. Sir George Foster, in closing, expressed his pleasure with the tone of the debate and committed the Government to some action.

J. A. Stevenson.

—:o:—

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"Wherever there is a broken, hopeless man or woman, wherever there is an outrageous, open offender, a persistent drunkard or drug-fiend, a harlot, a poor girl in trouble, a bastard babe, doomed to neglect, misery or death, a starving stomach, a silly, blaspheming

wretch, a thief, a planner of iniquities, a would-be suicide, an ignorant, untaught, or tortured child, a victim of superstition or mental terrors, a reviler of all that is holy, a doer of all that is ill, a wanderer in darkness, a dweller in the pit of despair, there, in Peace or War, almost from Pole to Pole, is the Salvation Army to comfort, to uplift, to feed the body and the spirit, to show that until everything is lost everything can be regained, and to declare by countless examples the truth of the old saying that out of the foulest sinners may still be fashioned the most perfect saints."

(Signed) Rider Haggard.

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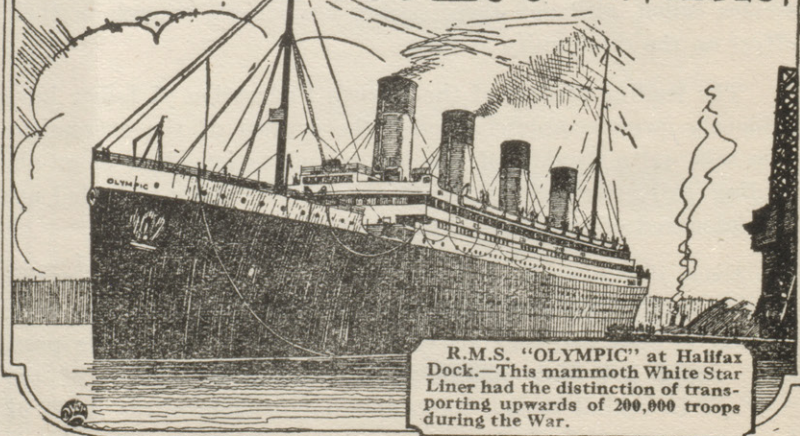
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GEO. PIERCE, Editor. KENNEDY CRONE, Associate Editor.

Curbing Direct Actionists

FRANCE has its hands full with the direct actionists there, who have been calling a series of strikes for purely political purposes, and the Government has at last been harassed into the state where the challenge of the extremists must be taken up if the country is not to come near to chaos. It has been announced that the Government will dissolve the Confédération Générale du Travail, which might be described as the French Federation of Labor, arguing that it is a menace to the state and is not representative of the real demands of the workers, the latter claim being borne out by the weakness of the numerous strikes called, although these strikes are serious enough in their effect on the community at large.

The leading strings of the French Federation of Labor have evidently come completely under the control of the extremists, who talk quite frankly of revolution and soviets, but, after all, leading strings are not of great value if the masses to be led are not enamored of the ideas of those who pull the strings.

Even if the most unlikely circumstance of revolutionaries gaining inside control of the American Federation of Labor were to come to pass, and they are doing their best to bring it to pass, they would not have swung the five million workers of the A. F. of L. behind them. Extremists might embroil the A. F. of L., cause a good deal of trouble and put shackles on legitimate trade unionism, but they would have to answer to the five millions. Precisely the same thing would happen here as has happened in France. Direct action — forcing by economic pressure on the majority what only a minority wants, and which the

majority believes would spell anarchy — is not only an illegitimate weapon, but, in the end, a useless weapon. When national reforms are needed, the only way to get them is by an orderly process of education. The overnight millenium is a dream, and a dangerous one.

K. C.

Words -- And Deeds

On motion of Senator Lodge this American creed, written by Senator Spencer of Missouri, was printed in the Congressional Record: "To me the creed of America is: A country founded upon absolute justice to all, with the door of opportunity open wide and with facilities for general education everywhere available; a place where the fullest liberty prevails and where every man and woman is equal before the law. This creed means to me: A thrilling pride in the glorious history which has established it and loyalty to the principles which it declares; and a determination, by every means in my power, that it shall be transmitted to the next generation untainted and unweakened."

Now we may expect to hear that the United States will co-operate with other nations to maintain the peace and harmony of the world, go carefully in Mexico, take its hands off Panama, give the Porto Ricans a chance to live, leave the lion's tail alone, abolish the color line, stop lynching, penalize the profiteers, allow workers to strike if they want to, permit free speech and free assembly, put the "Four Hundred" in Matteawan and Judge Gary in Sing Sing, and a lot more things. We may expect it, but — well, it's a disappointing world!

K. C.

Refusing A New Hat

MADAME DESCHANDEL, wife of the President of France, has declined the gift of the "most expensive hat in the world" from three thousand milliners in the United States. The great value of the hat is said to lie in the beautiful birds of paradise used to trim the black Milan straw. There are nine of these birds, each worth \$500, making a total of \$4,500 for the feathers alone. The lining is made of 48 pieces of silk, one for every state of the Union.

Madame did not say too bluntly why she declined to take the hat, but evidently the offer jarred her sensibilities, which is a good sign. Just think of the value of a woman's decoration lying in the fact that rare and beautiful birds of paradise were killed to make the decoration! The cruelty, the senselessness and the unwomanliness of the whole thing is distressing to think of, and probably Madame Deschanel was quite distressed to think about it. It is a pretty safe guess that the "stunt" of the milliners had a commercial basis, that it was a business proposition in which the returns were carefully figured; it had not even the little grace of being a freewill offering. Madame did well from all points of view in turning the offer down. She will feel more comfortable, physically and mentally, with some more ordinary headgear bought in her own home town with her husband's money.

K. C.

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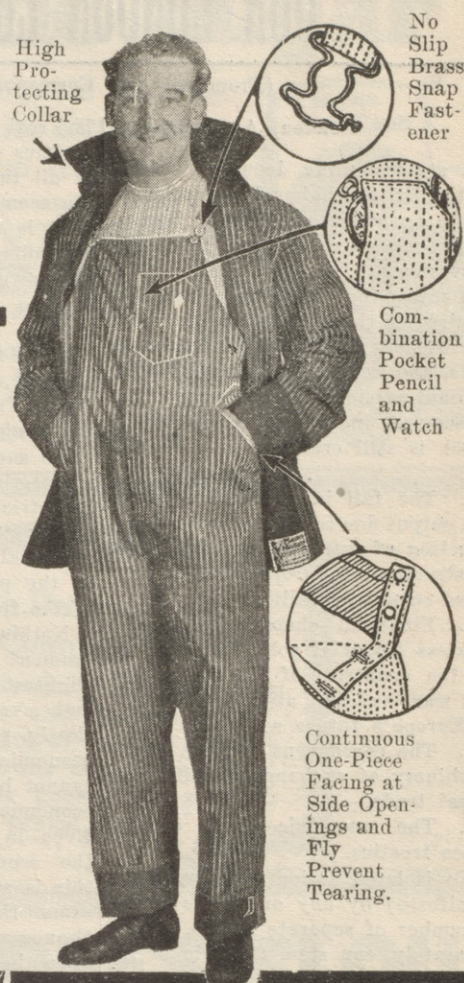
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OUR LONDON LETTER

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, April 23rd..

A statesmanlike document issued by the British Labor Party relative to the Economic situation in Europe has occasioned some considerable discussion.

It urges that immediate action is required in the application of a considered policy based on the economic facts, and not on the natural but irrational passions bred by war. The causes of the economic paralysis which is still creeping over Europe are:

1. The fall* in productive power and output due to exhaustion and destruction of war, and a political reconstruction of Europe which has ignored economic realities.

2. Financial chaos due to the reckless financial policy imposed on all the countries of Europe during the war, and the absence of belief in Europe's future security.

3. The consequent collapse of the machinery of exchange and international trade.

4. The economic terms of the peace treaties.

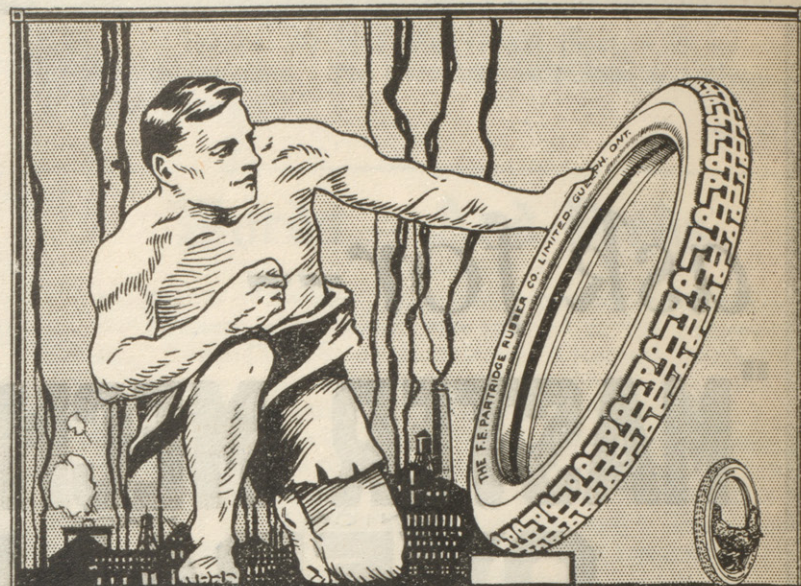
No isolated action (continues the manifesto) by any one State or by a number of separate States, acting separately, can stem the tide of industrial and financial deterioration.

The real problem is to restart the industries and rehabilitate the credit of all the countries of Europe, for the economic life of all these countries is so closely intertwined that the collapse of one drags its neighbor down, and one cannot climb out of the pit while another, even though its enemy, remains there. To take the most extreme case as an example, economically and financially, France has been going rapidly downhill since the Armistice. Coal crisis succeeds food crisis and transport crisis succeeds coal crisis; her industrial machine refuses to start working again normally. The rapid financial deterioration is reflected in the persistent fall in the value of the franc.

Nothing which the French Government can do or has done has the slightest effect upon this process, and even French statesmen are slowly realizing the fact that the economic rehabilitation of France cannot be accomplished without the economic rehabilitation of Germany. Even in the narrower question of the economic terms of the treaty this is self-evident; those terms assume that the economic life of France will for many years depend upon the execution by Germany of the reparation clauses, but France cannot expect to get any economic or financial relief from a bankrupt Germany, her commerce, her industries, and her finances in a state of complete collapse.

Common international action on a very large scale, says Labor, is in fact the only possible method of dealing with this crisis. That action must take several forms. Politically it must be directed to modify the rigidity of new frontiers by the creation of a common code ensuring an international economic life. Financially it must be directed to the rehabilitation of credit by international loans; industrially it must take, in accordance with their needs, supplies of essential materials for restating industries, and particularly for the apportionment of coal in accordance with needs. International action will also be required in order to remove temporary conditions artificially created by the economic terms of peace or otherwise, impeding the economic and financial rehabilitation of particular States.

Will the engineers accept payment by results? This is one of the questions on whose answer may depend a good deal of the future of the British Trade Union world. For there is no doubt that there is at present being developed a tremendous campaign amongst all employers to get the Trade Unions to accept payment by results, and that they are willing to give almost any concessions in return. For this



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purpose engineering is in some respects the key industry. Our experience is that it presents the greatest advantages to the employer; all through engineering prices are at present fixed on no logical basis of any kind, and are only tolerated — by those workers who do work piece — because on the whole what is lost on the swings is gained on the roundabouts. Finally, it is the traditional home of rate-cutting, and we have yet to learn that the employers have changed their spots in this respect. The experience of the war, when employers remarked "If a girl is earning 15s. a week, what can you do but cut the rate?" is fairly illuminating. If, then, the engineers accept piece work as a whole, it will mean that it has gained Labor support in one of the industries in which its abuse has been most flagrant, and this can only happen in return for very large concessions to the workers. At present it seems that the vote is going against it; but if it should be carried, it is certain that the demand will be made, not only for a substantial advance in basic rates, but that the industry should bear its own unemployment, as has been suggested for the dockers by the Dockers' Inquiry.

One of the most remarkable features of the present day politics over here is the way women are rallying to the banner of Labor. This week in London has been held a conference of 400 delegates of local Labor sections from all parts of the country.

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The level of the speechmaking has been high and the measures advocated important. The conference called on the Government to bring in a system of State benefits and free medical aid for mothers six weeks before and six weeks after their child is born. It demanded the withdrawal of black troops from Europe on the ground that their presence is a menace to the women and girls in the occupied areas. Valuable suggestions regarding housing and regulations of the milk supply, and altogether the conference marked an epoch in the interest which women are taking in the affairs of the country. Ethelbert Pogson.

Answering A Criticism Of Proportional Representation

(By RONALD HOOPER)

Mr. Ronald Hooper, Honorary Secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of Canada, sends to the Railroader the following copy of a letter which he has addressed to the Western Labor News, Winnipeg:—

The Western Labor News, in its issue of April 23, editorially discusses Proportional Representation, and makes some general criticisms thereon, and, so far as Winnipeg is concerned, some specific criticisms also, which would imply some misunderstanding of the new method of election.

First: with respect to the sufferings of the returning officer valiantly striving against fearful odds to do his duty, of which you write in a humorous strain, and which perhaps you do not mean to be taken too seriously, I have to say that some hundreds of P. R. elections have taken place in Scotland, Ireland, and other countries during the past 12 months and that it has not yet been suggested that the mortality rates of these countries have very materially increased on that account. I will not labor this point, however, as Winnipeg will soon have an opportunity to judge for itself as to the workability of the system.

Your editorial suggests that the Liberal and Conservative parties in Winnipeg will come to some mutual understanding to defeat Labor, and that in this they will be greatly assisted by P. R. How so! Under the former electoral system they might have repeated the tactics of the Liberals and Conservatives in Australia in 1913. In their alleged anxiety to defeat their common opponent, Labor, the older parties might have set aside their own comparatively minor differences and have agreed that in those constituencies where the Liberal vote was stronger than the Conservative, a Liberal candidate only would be nominated for whom the support of Conservatives would also be asked; and vice versa. The two parties together might thus receive a great deal more representation than they would be entitled to. Under P. R., on the other hand, they can receive neither more nor less than their actual polling strength would justify. To anyone who knows anything of P. R. that,

surely, is clear. If Labor polls four-tenths of the votes in the Winnipeg constituency, it will receive four-tenths of the representation, that is, four members. If it polls six-tenths it will elect six representatives. No amount of combination on the part of its opponents can prevent this.

Your editorial very properly puts some fundamental questions which I shall be very happy to answer through your columns if space will permit.

You ask, what under P. R. is the new angle of calculation in making nominations? For each party the number of nominations to be made should be based upon their probable polling strength. For example: Suppose 50,000 valid ballots are cast. Ten members are to be elected. The number, or "quota", of votes necessary to elect one member will be a fraction more than one-eleventh of 50,000 (for only ten candidates can receive that number), or, 4,546. If the Labor party could poll about 19,000 votes it would be certain to elect four members. But the party need not limit its nominations to this number; it could nominate as many as it pleases without weakening its chances of electing its four members, provided only that each Labor voter marked on his ballot preferences for all the Labor candidates. This would ensure that if the ballot could not help the voter's first choice it would be transferred to his second choice, and so on; in other words, the ballot would finally help to elect one of the Labor candidates. Thus, the number of candidates Labor might nominate is limited only by the provision in the New Manitoba Elections Act which states that the election deposit of any unelected candidate shall be forfeited if he does not poll first-choice votes to the number of one-fourth of the quota.

You ask, can a party vote be diluted by fraction beyond the possibility of electing anybody? And in what way is the result affected by placing any number of names in nomination? The result would be that all sections within the Labor party might have an opportunity of nominating a representative, with the comforting knowledge that by so doing they would in nowise weaken the chances of the Labor party as a whole, provided, as I have stated, that preferences were marked for all Labor candidates.

To answer your last query, the number "ten" in Winnipeg has this bearing on the problem, that if the Labor party can poll, say, approximately four-tenths of the votes, nothing can stop it from electing four of the ten members allotted to the city.

It would appear from a news item in your issue of April 16 that Labor in Manitoba senses the advantages of P. R. in that the Provincial branch of the Dominion Labor Party at its last regular meeting included P. R. in grouped constituencies as a plank in its provincial platform.

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The Failure of Victory

A Plea for the Reconciliation of Peoples.

(By Philip Gibbs, in "New Republic.")

It is a tragic thought, and a certainty, that all the hopes of the peoples who were involved in the great European war have not only been unfulfilled by victory, or, in the case of our enemies, destroyed by defeat, but that to victors and vanquished alike there is the horrible revelation that out of all that massacre and agony there has come as yet no promise of a safer world, no likelihood of long peace, no change in the old evils of diplomacy, no greater liberties or happiness for civilized mankind.

What were the hopes with which masses of men went marching into

the fields of death? I can speak only for the French and British whose sacrifice I saw during five years. French psychology was simple in the early days of that conflict. They saw their country menaced by an enemy who had once invaded it before with fire and sword and who for forty years since then had played the swaggering bully across the frontiers of France, building up a mighty war machine which was always a challenge and a threat to French statesmen and people. They saw the most brutal type of militarism enthroned there in Germany and themselves militarized by a three years service, by a desperate competition in armaments, and by a net-work of secret treaties and alliances, in order to protect themselves.

When war came and the German armies moved towards the frontiers, the manhood of France, and the spirit of its womanhood, rose with a kind of divine rage. There were no "conscientious objectors", no pacifists, in France, though, before, there had been many in intellectual and working classes, but as one man the nation rallied to defend its soil, its honor and its liberty, and two million Frenchmen died before the struggle was at an end and the enemy was broken.

But on the very first days of that war I heard strange words on the lips of French soldiers, who had a firm belief that whoever else might live they were going to die. They said: "This is the war to end war. By our death we shall overthrow militarism and win peace for the world." Others said: "Never again will civilization will suffer such a thing as this. The Germans are the last of the barbarians. When they are smashed there will be no more war among civilized peoples." One man, with whom I travelled in the first train load of mobilized men from Paris on August 2, 1914, vowed to me that if he thought the child just born to him would have to sacrifice his youth on the field of battle he would have strangled it in its cradle before leaving home. "War is a dirty stupid business," he said, "and if that is to be the chief purpose of life it is better not to live."

Those were early thoughts by intelligent young Frenchmen who fought with long enduring gallantry. Later, when the war had dragged on for years, when there seemed no finish to it, when new ranks of youth were mown down in the same fields where rotted the bodies of their elder brothers, many French soldiers, still faithful to command and to their own courage, though agonized by this long drawn horror, saw more deeply into the cause of war and found more enemies than those in front of them behind the barbed wire and the slime-plastered sandbags. They came to believe that although the Germans were the most brutal exponents of militarism, and in most slavish obedience to its commands, the philosophy of military force was at the back of all Euro-



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pean nations and that the whole structure of modern civilization was upheld by the power of armies, and by combination of armed forces bound together in secret compacts without the knowledge or consent of the men who had to serve as "gun-fodder."

They looked away from the Germans for a while to the satesmen and diplomats behind their own front, to the newspaper men and commercial men, to the jingoes and breeders of hate, and exploiters of world markets, and financiers of wealth produced by labor, and said: "You also are guilty. We, who are going to die, accuse you also as our murderers. Your villainy, your stupidity, your poisonous philosophy, your betrayal of Christian ethics, and the old spell words of falsity which you put upon those who were ignorant as we were ignorant, have helped to bring about this beastliness. You are only a little less to blame than those Germans who were more efficient in the most evil use

of power and in their hold over the minds of their people. We shall go on to the end, but after the end will be a beginning, and a new democracy enlightened by the revelation of this war will sweep away the old frontiers of hatred, the old spell words, the wild diplomacy, and arrange new relations between civilized peoples based upon mutual interest instead of fear and force."

So spoke the soldiers of whom Henri Barbusse wrote, and many whom I heard.

The British soldier was not so eloquent. At first he went into the war, as afterwards the Americans came into it, in a crusading spirit, to the rescue, as he thought of other people, not understanding for some time that his race was also menaced and that it was a life or death struggle for imperial power, for the wealth of his people, and for the markets which they held. As the war went on he, too, began to think more deeply of the enormous world problems in which he was tossed like a straw above the bonfires, and he, too, with the mud and filth of war in his soul, with the stink of blood in his nostrils, with the sight of death about him everywhere, looked forward to victory or to peace as the beginning of a new era when the argument of war should be replaced by something more reasonable, and when human society should no longer be at the mercy of secret, stupid, or evil statesmanship, or of masses moved by instincts of hate artfully inflamed by their rulers for sinister purposes masking under the name of patriotism.

I think, indeed I know, that in many countries of Europe, after the armistice and during the peace negotiations, there was a passionate hope among masses of men and women that such a peace would be arranged as would liberate them from the old and crushing burdens of militarism and from the old fears which made them obey that tyranny. They looked forward to greater liberty as the reward of all their sacrifice, greater prosperity for those who labored in peace as they had fought in war, and a forward march of the human family out of the jungle of its hatreds and massacres to the sunlight of comradeship and common sense.... As everyone now acknowledges the Peace Conference and its Treaty did not secure that boon to mankind.

After all the millions of words that have been written about the Treaty, I am not going to add to them here by an analysis of its clauses or causes of failure, beyond saying that the old diplomats continued the fatal old diplomacy, each one struggling to gain a share of the spoils of victory out of the ruin of the Central Empires and their Asiatic allies, or looking to the immediate advantage of military victory rather than to the future safety of the world. The one man who strove, rather blindly, to counteract the sheer materialism of the settlement by higher ideals of justice and poli-



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cy was the President of the United States of America, whose achievement, such as it was,—and frankly it was not much—was disowned by his own people.

In my opinion the failure of the statesmen to realize the almost divine mission that was entrusted to them, to create a new order of human relationships—the greatest failure in history—was most guilty and most damnable, but the guilt was shared by the peoples themselves be-

cause at this supreme crisis of their fate they did not rise to claim the fulfilment of the ideals for which the war had been fought, but sank back again into their old morass of fear, suspicion, rivalry, greed, and intolerance. In each country only a minority held to the faith that had come to them during the war and out of its agony and emotion; while the majority—as in England—allowed themselves to be thrust back into the jungle by leaders who could

not see beyond its darkness.

In France there were not many men who when the victory came to them said, as they had once promised: "Now that German militarism is smashed we will destroy our own. This war was the war to end the war." They thought only of destroying the power of Germany so utterly that it could not rise again in their own lifetime, and of paying themselves back in German coal and German labor and German money for all they had lost by the destruction of their land. With England they bargained for spheres of influence in Asia, and believed they had the worst of the bargain. With America and England and Italy they negotiated for new and close alliances which should help to protect them if Germany ever recovered from their blows. Their quarrel with the Peace Treaty was not that it failed in humanity but that it failed in harshness.... And from the narrow point of view of the old philosophy of life the French were right. From the point of view of immediate justice they were right. Germany deserved from them terrible punishment. By whatever wealth that was left to her out of her ruin she was bound by the old law of nations, to pay, and pay. No humiliation that France could inflict on Germany as a nation, no agony due to the harshness of peace terms would be too severe, according to abstract justice, as a retribution for what France herself had suffered, not once, but twice from Germany.

But abstract justice cannot be dealt out to a nation without particular injustice. What was right according to the old philosophy of hostile nations was utterly and terribly wrong according to those new thoughts and aspirations which had been wrung out of the hearts of men standing in the stinking trenches under the flails of death. Where France, and the world, failed was in forgetting the larger vision of a new comradeship between peoples and harking back to jungle justice. Apart from all idealism, and in sheer hard selfish purpose, it seems to me certain that France was wrong and foolish in desiring harsh terms for Germany. There are many Frenchmen, and many Americans and English as their sympathizers, who regret they did not take the left bank of the Rhine, as a safeguard against future wars. I am not one of those who think so, because I love France too well, and I am convinced that the occupation of that territory would be no safeguard at all, but a direct and inevitable cause of future war which France cannot afford to fight. Nothing that France can do will alter the increasing disproportion between the German population and her own. France has been weakened by many wars and by a tragic decline of her birth rate. In another thirty years the man power of Germany will be far greater in relation to that of France than it was in 1914. The possession of the Rhine bank, with an immense

hostile population in its towns would be no safeguard when German armies moved.

It is the simple, plain, and terrible truth that without Russia as her ally on the eastern front, and with her allies on the west, France will never be able again to wage a long war against Germany. Apart from idealism, therefore, and looking only to hard facts, it is essential for the prevention of fresh massacres in her fields for the children who are to be born of the little ones who are now at play in France that there shall be no war again, within half a century at least, between French and Germans.

The only safeguard against that is not in a strong French army, for it can never be strong enough; not a financial grip upon German labor, for it will be broken; but a pact of peace between French and German democracies... I allude to France first not because she is more militaristic than other nations—I think that before long she will be most anti-military—but because her position is so clearly defined, so unambiguous with that frontier to guard against a hereditary enemy. All nations in Europe are subject to the same alternative of policy—a new competition in armaments, a new network of alliances, the same old fears and intrigues and treacheries, or, on the other hand, a pact of peace with their neighbors. So it is with Italy, with the new state of Jugoslavia, with Belgium, and with England.

The pact of peace is best. Is it possible? Is it within the ordinary bounds of human nature?... I think it is possible if the peoples of the world will abandon just a little—no very much—of their stupidity.

Take the case of Germany as it was in the days of the armistice. There were many people among the Allies and in America who would not admit that the revolution accomplished there was in any way sincere, or that there was any spirit of democracy among those defeated people, or that they had learned any new philosophy out of the bloody lesson of their war. For months after their defeat, the English newspapers kept up the old war cries, still inflamed the fires of hate, still protested that the whole German race was already nourishing plots of revenge, plots to bring back the Kaiser, plots to raise secret armies in order to defeat the Peace Treaty. It was not believed that they had been in any way changed by the agony of war, or that they had any hatred for those who had led them to ruin. They were not believed to be on a level with ordinary human nature, worthy of a place in a League of Nations, and from no nation which had been at war with Kaiserism and Junkerdom was there any offer of generous dealing with German democracy now that Kaiserism was dethroned and Junkerdom reviled.

(Continued on page 20.)

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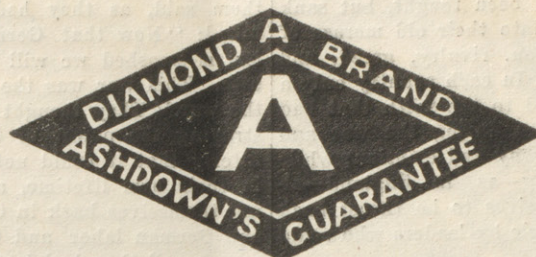
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OUR SCOTTISH LETTER

(From our own correspondent)

Glasgow, April 30.

The most popular institution in Glasgow — the halfpenny tram ride — which, the years gone by, has survived a dozen attacks on its existence, seems at last destined to final extinction. Under its regime and the other low fares, the Glasgow tram service is now eating its head off financially. A loss of nearly £100,000 will have to be faced their year ending June 1st. Two committees have just attacked the problem of getting the revenue to balance with the expenditure. One recommended cutting down the halfpenny stages to two-thirds their present distance. But as this would dislocate all the great central gathering stations on the way routes, it is not likely to be accepted. A later committee, indeed, agreed to add a halfpenny, to every ticket issued. Under this proposal, which is to come before the Town Council next week, one of the present halfpenny stages will cost 1d.; two will cost 1d.; three, 11-2d.; four, 11-2d.; five,

2d.; six, 2d.; seven, 21-2d.; eight, 21-2d.; nine, 3d.; ten, 3d.; eleven, 31-2d.; twelve, 31-2d. This new arrangement is not without its obvious drawbacks. For example, the man who travels from Uddingston or Paisley to Jamacia Street pays the same increase on present fares, 11-2d., as the man who travels only three streets. Another objection is that it will tend to eradicate all between — stations traffic — which is the outstanding feature of the service. No passenger will enter trams a few streets short of a station. As a consequence, there will be great concentration at the stations. The conductor will have less time in which to collect their fares; and many passengers will not pay their pennies, or rather the pennies will not be collected. Practically, it means that the city man is to be severely taxed for the deficit, while the "outsider" is to be treated in the most generous fashion possible.

Scottish Dockers.

The seventh annual congress of the Scottish Union of Dock Laborers was held in Glasgow this week. Mr. David Marshall, who presided, spoke of the progress which the union has made during the year. Recently they had opened a branch at Stornoway, which was progressing satisfactorily. Since the armistice was signed many members had returned. He hoped that while new agreements with the employers were being made, the rank and file would loyally support the officials. Mr. Joseph Houghton, the general secretary, in his annual report stated that all their branches had now recovered from the effects of the war. Their membership at the end of 1919 was 8,955, as compared with 7,980 for 1918, an increase of almost 1,000; the strength of the Glasgow branch was 6,566. The funds of the Union amounted to almost £16,000, which was an increase on the year's working of about £4,500.

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branch have signified satisfaction with the minimum wage of 16s. per day which has been agreed upon as a result of the negotiations in London, and which is to come into operation on May, 10. Mr. Houghton, the general secretary, explained that the award really meant that coasting men in Glasgow with 12s. 4d. per day would get 16s., and also those in receipt of 14s., but the men who are getting 15s. 8d. would receive 17s. 8d. All differential rates with regard to timber men, dirty money, or any extras, would be retained. Week-

ly paid men in the employment of shipping companies and stevedores would get relatively the same advance — viz., 11s. per week. Clyde Trust men would also, it was understood, receive the same recognition. Members of the union in Greenock, Ayr, Troon, Irvine, Ardrossen, and Dundee were also to receive the 16s. minimum, but in Campbeltown and Stornoway, where there were local agreements, the matter would be the subject of local negotiations.

Labor College.

"Marxism will be the basis of our economic teaching", explained John Maclean at an adjourned conference of Trade Union and Socialist organizations held at Edinburgh this week in connection with the Scottish Labor College. A. Caldwell, president of Edinburgh and District of Trades Council, presided over an attendance of over 50 delegates, representative of 32 organizations, and, after discussion, the majority of the delegates vote in favor of the proposed development, and pledged their branches financially to the extent of an affiliation fee of 2s. 6d. and an annual subscription of 2d. per member. It is proposed at the outset to have evening classes in Edinburgh,

John Gibson.

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THE BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY'S INTEREST IN WORKERS.

Amid all the labor disputes that have characterized the past couple of years, it is refreshing to note the ever-growing list of companies that have taken enlightened steps to maintain good-feeling with their workers, and this in advance of any claims that have been made upon them. Perhaps the most praiseworthy effort of this kind have been along the line of provision for employees in case of accident, sickness and disability through age, and provision for dependents when the breadwinner dies. Many of these plans are at present in operation, and the results achieved offer an interesting subject for study.

Three years ago the Bell Telephone Company of Canada established an Employee's Pension and Benefit Plan, which is working out in a most interesting way. Under this plan, no contribution of any sort is required from the workers, the Company setting aside a fund, now standing at \$500,000, out of which all benefits are paid.

The only requirement for participation in these benefits is continuous service. As soon as an employee has worked for the Company continuously for two years, he is in a position to receive certain benefits from the plan, and the longer his continuous service exists, additional and increasing benefits accrue.

In the matter of sickness disability, for instance, there is a sliding scale. Employees with two years service, who are unfortunate enough to be unable to work on account of illness, receive four weeks full pay and nine weeks half pay; and the amount of full and half pay increases with length of service until an employee, whose term of employment is ten years or more, will receive full pay for ten weeks and half pay for thirty-nine weeks.

The plan includes a pension, equal to one per cent of the average pay for the last ten years of service, multiplied by the total years of service, and this pension may be enjoyed at the age of 60 by any employee whose term of employment has been twenty years or more.

The Company also pays a death benefit in certain cases where an em-

ployee has left a wholly dependent relative.

All indirect benefit has also accrued to the employees through the Company's supervision of health conditions, and there are already evidences that the general health of the staff has been improved, owing to the insistence of the benefit fund committee that in all cases of illness proper and adequate means must be taken to effect a permanent cure, and that no employee shall return to work until he has thoroughly convalesced.

The following figures giving details of payments from the Fund in 1919 show how largely employees and dependents are already participating in its benefits:—

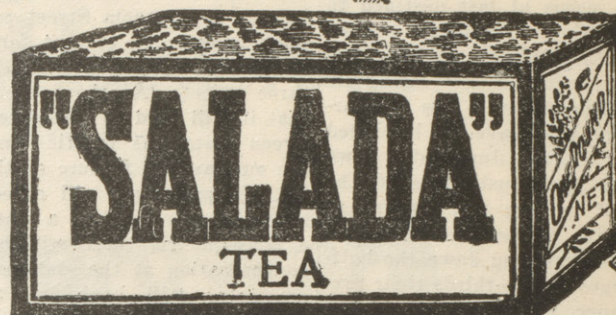
Paid in pensions	\$ 6,109.28
Accident disability benefits	15,016.53
Disability expenses (Accidents only)	6,418.56
Sickness disability benefits	111,065.68
Death benefits	19,991.97

Total payments from
the fund in 1919 . . \$158,602.02

In accordance with the recommendation of the committee, the Company has established a Medical Department in connection with the Employees' Pension and Benefit Plan, and a physician has been appointed to take charge of it as "Medical Adviser", with headquarters at Montreal. Dr. Winters will review all medical certificates and medical examination forms.

It is the intention of the Company to inaugurate some form of physical or medical examination of new employees. It is considered that such procedure is very desirable, both for the protection of the employees already in the service and to ensure that new employees are given work for which they are physically fitted. Should such examination disclose minor ailments or a tendency thereto, the new employee would be made aware of the conditions and advised to consult his or her physician, in order that early treatment might prevent the ailment or disability becoming serious. Valuable and disinterested advice has already been given to employees through this channel.

The Bell Company considers that the expenditure involved will return a very handsome dividend, if, as is expected, it results in the building up of an experienced staff, trained in the particular business of the Company and bound to it by the same ties of enlightened self-interest which induces the Company to make the outlay.



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MONTREAL

Sir Alfred Smithers says the Grand Trunk Directors, in taking the course they did, averted a real catastrophe. "Averted" or "diverted"?

Wages in Relation to Higher Cost

(By Colin McKay.)

An easy way to account for the high cost of living is to attribute it to the alleged high wages paid to labor. Traders who are getting 100 per cent higher prices according to quantity and 200 or 300 per cent, if quality is considered, are fond of explaining the increase in the cost of living in this way. No doubt they believe that Labor is the culprit. When the employers and traders do not fully understand disturbing developments in the social system they either refer mysteriously to the law of supply and demand, or infer that Labor is the goat.

If we look into the statistics of the manufacturing industries of Canada we find that price movements of manufactured articles have been very much out of proportion to the increases in the cost of labor, or the wage movement.

Latest available Government statistics show that amount of capital invested in the manufacturing industries of Canada was \$2,772,519,680, while the value of the products manufactured was \$3,015,000,000. Wages of employees amounted to \$477,245,456, and salaries to \$95,983,406. According to these figures, to manufacture a product worth \$100, only \$16 was paid in wages, and \$19 in wages and salaries combined. If cost of raw material, and overhead expenses remained the same, and wages had been increased 100 per cent, the manufacturer would only have to add 16 per cent to his price to pay his extra labor cost. If both wages and salaries had been increased he would only have to add 19 per cent.

Of course there have been increases of wages in the industries supplying the manufacturer with raw material. The latest available statistics give the value of the material used at \$1,602,000,000, or a little over half of the value of the finished product.

Assume the cost of labor used to produce the raw material is in the same proportion to the cost of labor used in manufacturing process, though in cotton, sugar, and many commodities it would probably be somewhat less.

In the finished product worth \$100 there were materials worth \$53. The wage cost of the raw material would then be \$8.50, and the wage and salary cost combined would be \$10.

On this basis the wage cost of the finished product would be \$16 plus \$8.50, or \$24.50; the wage and salary cost combined would be \$19 plus \$10, or \$29.

That is to say an increase of 100 per cent in the wages of the people employed in producing the raw material and the finished article would only add 24.50 per cent to

value of the unit of output. Doubling wages and salaries both would increase the cost only 29 per cent.

The Government statistics may not be correct, though they are supposed to be supplied by the manufacturers themselves. But as they stand they repudiate the contention that increases in wages and salaries are the main cause of the big increase in prices. The manufacturers do not absorb all the difference between the 24½ or 29 per cent which might be legitimately charged to increased labor cost (provided wages have been doubled in all

cases, which they have not been) and the big increase in price the consumer has to pay. Those who control the production of raw materials have, we know, secured big increases in prices, and the traders appear to be doing very well, judging from the number of automobiles floating around, though we have little definite information as to their profits now, compared with prewar days. But the fact remains that labor today, even with alleged high wages, is getting a smaller percentage of the value of the products of industry than ever.

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Labor Brevities

Halifax and Dartmouth teamsters and chauffeurs are on strike for \$5 increase.

* * *

Employees of Toronto Railway demand an increase from 55 to 75 cents an hour.

* * *

Photo engravers of Montreal are seeking a \$12 increase and a 44 hour week, and have asked the international union for permission to strike if their demands are not granted. At present they are receiving \$32 a week minimum, but some specially skilled men receive as high as \$80. The men, who demand a minimum of \$45, also insist that even the highest paid employees receive an increase of not less than ten dollars a week. The employers offer a minimum of \$37.

* * *

Ottawa union bakers are on strike because the employers, though conceding the wage increase asked for, refused to grant "closed shop" conditions.

* * *

Two conciliation boards have been appointed by the Government to deal with disputes between Winnipeg Electric Railway and its street railway employees and the gas workers.

* * *

Montreal plasterers have had their wages increased from 75 to 80 cents an hour under a new contract signed this week. The 44-hour week remains.

* * *

Winnipeg carpenters have been granted \$1 an hour by the Fair Wages Board.

* * *

Fur workers of Montreal and Toronto have appointed a committee of three representing each city to study conditions. They will meet first in Toronto, on May 22. Meanwhile Montreal workers are preparing a new schedule for presentation to their employers. They claim wages are higher in Toronto than here.

* * *

Montreal Garment Workers have received a five dollar increase for men and three dollars for women, dating from May 1st, on a seven months contract, as a result of the decision of Charles D. Barnes, the impartial chairman.

* * *

In order to speed up the production of equipment required for the rapidly expanding traffic of the C. P. R., large extensions are being made at the Angus shops in Montreal. These extensions will cover a quarter of a million square feet and are expected to cost approximately a million dollars.

* * *

Quebec Fire Department averted a strike on the eve of May Day when the Council agreed to pay the firemen \$2 a week more, instead of \$1, as originally decided.

The Individual's Incentive to Industry

(By HOWARD FALK, Director,
Dept. of Social Service,
McGill University).

Editor, Canadian Railroader,

In a previous letter we suggested that the mere transference of money from those who have to those who have not by a Socialistic government would not solve the whole or any part of the problem. We inferred that at the root of all our problems lay the lack of a proper incentive to industry.

If you, you being a person who is not quite satisfied with the present social order, discuss social and economic problems with someone who is quite satisfied, that someone generally being a fairly prosperous individual, the prosperous individual usually retorts to all your arguments, "Well, I don't care what you say! Men are not equal, and if you divided up the world's wealth equally today, a year hence, ten years hence, some would have much and others little." With this sentiment we are in entire accord, but that is not the issue.

Assuming that such inequalities would soon appear, and that their existence in the aggravated forms in which we find them today implies an anti-Christian, anti-social, anti-economic condition, surely as Christians believing in the brotherhood of man, as philosophers believing in the Family, Society, and the State, and as economists ever attempting to make man's life richer by utilizing nature's resources to a greater degree, we shall want to enquire why such inequalities would rapidly appear. The inequalities would arise because some people would be more industrious, more thrifty, more able than others. If we can decide upon the factors which make one man industrious and another lazy, one thrifty and another a spend-thrift, one clever and another dull, we shall have gone a long way on the road to solve our problem.

Let us deal with "ability" first. We know two things out of the experience of the ages, first that ability is not the exclusive inheritance of the sons of the well-to-do, second that the sons of the well-to-do, however much latent ability they may inherit, are capable of losing it through failure to give it sufficient exercise. To put the same truths in another way we may say that man may be superior to his environment, but not all the men are superior to their environment, and that an environment evil in its effect on the development of ability may be found surrounding the "well-to-do" as well as the "poor." "Ability" then is in part inherited and in part created and developed; in so far as it is inherited neither the State, Society, nor the individual can control it, in

so far as it is created and developed the State, Society, and the individual have complete authority and control. The able son of a successful and able father, and the able son of a poverty-stricken, drunken, disreputable father prove the exceptions to a general rule.

As a general rule a condition of life which gives adequate satisfaction of material needs, and a family and school life which is calculated to develop and train the child mentally, morally, spiritually and physically, is necessary to conserve, create, or develop ability. The condition of life must not be so exposed to evil influences as to cause the child's character to be damaged, nor so protected as to render the child an easy victim to an attack by evil influences on the attainment of manhood.

In so far the living or working conditions of the rich or the poor fail to measure up to this standard, by so much does the State, Society, and the individual start and continue men in life on unequal terms from the standpoint of ability.

But "able" men will not always be industrious, says our satisfied friend. What is it that makes one man work and the other slack on his job? We seem to have heard our satisfied friends often say, "But I worked and work now ten, twelve, fourteen hours a day!" Let us run over in our minds the people who work industrially of our own acquaintance, let us try and arrive at the motivation for their industry. I know such a one; he is an artist, he is dreaming that he is going to "create" some day a picture which will change the hearts of men, and

bring about the realization of the "Brotherhood of Man": I know another, he is a Minister of the Gospel, and he works day and night feeling that he is only rich in so far as he succeeds in bringing others into as intimate a relation to God and Our Lord Jesus Christ as he is himself: I know another, he is a Social Worker; to him who loves everything that is beautiful, the sight of men, women and children who never see beautiful things, and who would not have the eyes to see them if they were before them, is an all-powerful incentive to labor day and night for a different social order. I know another, a woman who has had all the material privileges imaginable, but who was denied freedom in the development of her own character and personality. She labors industrially that others may not suffer in the same way.

Another I know, a man who was superior to his environment, and has achieved wealth and position in business, Church, and State, a man whose ambition for power knows no bounds, a man who is intolerant of those who have not succeeded: he is well satisfied with the existing social order.

All these I know and many others who can be passed over: all except one, a young woman who toils industriously ten hours a day in a factory for a paltry wage, which with her widowed mother's earnings inadequately supplies the bare necessities of life for themselves and her younger brothers and sisters — but she has the incentive of a great love, and into her work goes the power of that love; that desire for motherhood which some day she believes will be satisfied.

Here's a very simple faith, she believes absolutely in Heaven and Hell, in the Hereafter and the individual salvation; she accepts without question the inequalities of the present social order; laziness or carelessness in her work, or neglect of her home responsibilities would jeopardize the chance of her great desire being satisfied — she is of a type rapidly becoming extinct; their souls have been mangled in the wheels of the industrial machine.

For every industrious person I know, I know ten, aye a hundred, the objective of whose labor is the weekly pay envelope or the monthly salary cheque. Who are they? I know a bricklayer, he knows that he will only be paid to lay bricks as long as the contractor he works for and the man whose building he helps to build both expect to make a profit. He knows that his day's wage will be the same if he lays three hundred bricks as if he lays six hundred, and that if he lays six hundred every day that job will last half as long, with no certainty of another to follow. I know the driver of a coal waggon; he shovels the coal into your house and mine; he could save two hours a day in making his deliveries, but if he did he knows that he would not be told to go

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home and play golf, so he does as little as he can without losing his job. A factory hand I know, who is paid by the hour. He goes through the same monotonous mechanical motion 54 hours every week, as many weeks as the factory is able to employ his labor at a profit to its owners; his attitude to his work is the same as the bricklayers and the drivers.

The bricklayer did not make the bricks he lays, nor will he live or work in the building he builds; the coal waggon driver rather resents the fact that his three room basement flat is inadequately heated by the kitchen stove and a small heater, and that he has to work outside all day, often in zero weather. The factory hand does only one twentieth of the process of making the article he works on, and he can never afford to buy one, so he only sees them occasionally on holidays in the big store windows. The yearly income of all three barely meets the cost of essentials in the way of food, clothing, and shelter; however, none of them have time or strength for physical recreation after the days' work is done, nor has their education been sufficient to enable them to enjoy intellectual recreation except such as is provided for them in the melodrama of the cheap vaudeville or picture house.

Our well-satisfied friend told us that these people did not know how to use their spare time or money, and he was right. He has supported a social order which has been responsible for their condition. If I has not denied them education altogether, it has at least limited it sufficiently for the purpose.

Is there a way in which the right incentive can be supplied? We think so. Does it necessitate revolution? We think not. If supplies incentive to the mass of workers will it remove incentive from the few? We think not. Will it make us a wealthier nation? We say yes without hesitation. These are the questions we shall attempt to answer in a concluding letter.

HOWARD FALK.

THE FARMER

A farmer, in his overalls,
His wife, all bundled up with shawls,
Drove into town the other day,
To sell some chickens, so they say,
They walked about from store to store
Their object was a few cents more.
At last, he said, your price's too low
For a man who belongs to the U. F.O.

He has for sale a big pig or two,
But can't afford to sell to you.
The price of pork is bound to raise,
So he thinks he'll hold them a few more days.
The market demand is good for hay,
But alas! Our farmer wants more pay.
Now, why is the high cost of living so?
Sure it can't be the man in the U. F.O.

He has in turn some things to buy,
And we hold our breath lest he might die.
He scolded and cussed with all his might.
Your prices are away out of sight.
The biggest rogue the country o'er
He says is the man who owns a store
Our honest men, well you might know.
Are they who belong to the U.F.O.

If our farmers will only then,
Act like real, good, honest men,
And bring the prices with range,
So we might have some pocket change
And make a peaceful happy land,
With full and plenty on every hand,
Our praises like this would forever flow.
"God bless the men of the U.F.O."

A Bystander.



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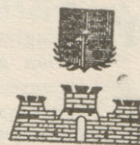
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The Failure of Victory

(Continued from page 13)

Well, I saw a good many Germans during the war and after the war and came to different conclusions after speech with them.

On many days of battle through many years I met German soldiers coming across the fields as prisoners under our escort, or in cages after their capture. Some of them were wounded, some of them were dying, all of them had been living in the hell of shell-craters and trenches knee-deep or waist-deep in mud, under the intensive bombardment of big guns which blew bodies of men into hunks of bleeding flesh, until the range of fire lifted and they were surrounded by swarms of our men with naked and greedy bayonets and with bombs to blow them out of the holes where they crouched in terror. Truth was on their lips when I met them, for men do not lie when they are still trembling with horror and when their life is a miracle of escape. The truth they spoke was simple, and always the same. They cursed the war as an outrage against God and man. They had been dragged off, they said, from farms and factories against their will will take their turn in this shambles. They were slaves and there was no escape. The war had been made, they said, by the capitalists. It was a "Great Swindle" — many of them used that phrase — and after the war they would slit the throats of the people who had made it... That was the general tenor of their speech which I heard over and over again. Others in a hopeless way protested that it was necessary, they supposed, to go on fighting for the Fatherland in a war of defence, now that they were threatened with extermination, and no one would give them peace on any terms except utter ruin. They could not betray the Fatherland, though the war was not of their making, and they had been led into it by the lies and wickedness of their rulers who had put a spell upon them... So the men spoke, as prisoners in the battles of the Somme, the battles of Flanders, and afterwards in the last phase of their defeat. The officers did not speak like that. To the very end they justified the war — they also called it a war of self-defence — and refused to believe, until almost the end, that Germany could ever be defeated.

When defeat came I went into Germany with our troops and met the people of the enemy. They spoke in exactly the same way as the men we had taken as prisoners. They said the war was made by the capitalists who had duped and betrayed the people, and played upon their passions and their ignorance. They cursed their war lords and spoke of the runaway Kaiser with loathing

and contempt. Our men were startled by their lack of hostility, by their friendliness, and whatever hate there had been in the hearts of English soldiers for the German nation as an abstract monster disappeared strangely and utterly in the presence of German women who wept for their dead, German children weak for lack of food, and German soldiers who had torn their straps from their shoulders, their buttons from their tunics, and said, "the only good that has come out of this war is the German revolution which will give us liberty."

Our men, as I have said, found it impossible to keep up the passion of abstract hate in the presence of individual suffering, kindness and common sense on the part of people who were no more responsible for the war or its horrors than slaves of a tyranny. These women who had lost four, five, and six sons, and now wept in wild despair were not guilty of the war. These children dying of rickets, or white-faced after years of ill-nourishment, were not guilty of the war. These peasants taken from their ploughs for "Kanonenfutter" were not guilty of a war made by the thugs on top of them, except that they, in the beginning, had been drunk on the poisoned philosophy of evil with which they had been doped, under the name of patriotism and love for the Fatherland and the old sentiment of the German race.

So it was in Austria, as I saw and heard. Judging them as a nation they were condemned justly. They had been guilty of horrible crimes against humanity. Judging them as individuals, understanding the madness that possesses people when the bugles blow for war, whatever the cause may be, seeing the agony they had suffered and were suffering, these women, these ignorant sons of the soil, these children, these masses of starved and stricken humanity, one had pity. If one saw and talked with them, one had pity. It was only those who did not see, and whose imagination was not penetrating enough to bridge the gulf between abstract justice and individual misery, who could still maintain the fires of hate.

I am convinced from what I saw in Central Europe after the armistice that those people who were our enemies had really undergone a change of heart and were ready to cast off the old spirit of militarism and to rise to a new plane of democratic fervor in a society of free peoples. It is true that self-interest as well as the call to a new ideal of life made their only hope. But if self-interest coincides with idealism it is a powerful combination which wise men should use. We should have used it by making a great call to German democracy to ally itself with the democracies of the world in a new order of human society. We should have fulfilled President Wilson's fourteen points in their spirit as well as in their letter so that the people of Germany and Austria, having shaken off their old tyrannies, should, after reparation, be left with hope in peaceful progress, and with the means of life and labor. They clung to those fourteen points

until they saw them, one by one, abandoned and betrayed. They found themselves condemned to slave labor under burdens of debt which would make all their labor fruitless to themselves, and cut off from the sources of raw material. Austria, dismembered, was sentenced to death by starvation. Germany saw great populations of her own folk handed over to other governments, and her means of industry so strangled that only by violence of trickery, violence of revolution or violence of reaction, trickery by old and evil diplomats or new and crafty demagogues could she free herself from the vengeance that had been heaped upon her. Recent history has shown this peace of ours was great foolishness from the point of view of our own interests and the safety of the world. The disease of the Central Powers is a breeding ground of many mental and physical diseases which have a spreading influence. Their financial ruin makes it impossible for France and Great Britain and Italy and many other nations to be cured of their own poverty.

Germany, bewildered by despair, is swinging between the madness of Bolshevism and military reaction. The reactionary revolution that broke out in Berlin, last March, proved by its failure the loathing of the German masses for any new era of militarism, and the passion with which they stamped many officers to death gave the lie to English and American and French newspaper correspondents who had written that the German republic was a mere camouflage masking a monarchical and military spirit. But it roused that brute beast which awakens in men and women when they are hungry and when they have no food but despair. Bolshevism was proclaimed in the factories of Essen and Düsseldorf and in many towns... The conflict will not be settled by temporary truces or by small victories on one side or the other. But if Germany follows Russia definitely into Bolshevism, and the German masses ally themselves with Russians in a communistic warfare against the world! It is idle now to say that some of us foresaw all this and warned our governments.

America cannot regard these problems with a detached and aloof mind as though they did not affect her. America is touched by them and her destiny is bound up with them. Is the spirit of America free from that ignorance, that prejudice, those popular passions, which created the madness of the war and have made Europe a madhouse since the war? I wish I could think so, but I see in the United States the same foolishness and wickedness at work which have been the curses of humanity in all its history. Surely to God, Americans above all other people, because of their traditions of liberty and peace and democratic common sense, ought to be wiser than the nations of Europe with their racial rivalries and old heritages of hate!

But what is happening now in the United States with regard to

England? There is a propaganda of hate being spread throughout the country, of most poisonous, malicious, and dangerous character in which England is represented as an arrogant, grasping and brutal country, intensely jealous of Uncle Sam and deliberately hostile. It is the same kind of propaganda which inflamed Germany against England and England against Germany. It reaches down to the ignorance and passions of the same classes. I believe I am more able to say these things than many Englishmen because I am known as a friend of the American people and once or twice I have been able to prove my friendship as far as the power of my pen goes. Nor am I a jingo Englishman, believing that his country is always right. I am not afraid to write here and now that I utterly abhor the imperialistic ambitions which have been revealed by some of our statesmen in their claims upon the Middle East, which have burdened us with new and vast responsibilities at a time when we have not the power to support them; that I agree with the United States in refusing to be outvoted on the League of Nations, and that I think we are guilty of rational hypocrisy in prating about the liberties of the small nations while we govern Ireland by martial law. But that is no excuse for the slanders that are spread against the English people in many American newspapers. There are millions of English people who also hate the additional burden of empire, who wish Ireland to have liberty, who desire the friendship and not the hostility of the United States, and who after the agony of this war with its heritage of tragic memories and present burdens, look forward with passionate hope to a world-wide pact of peace which will enable all peoples to develop their commerce and their national life without the fear and menace of the war fever.

Taunts in American newspapers are answered by gibes in English newspapers, bitter speeches by American Senators are cabled to England, and hurt, and are answered by stinging satire... Good God! Is the world not old enough to get rid of all that silly, childish barbarism? Are civilized peoples to go on slinging mud at each other for sport, pulling snooks at each other across the frontiers or the seas, uttering provocative cries like dirty little schoolboys to each other, for the sake of scoring off each other in newspapers and political debates, careless of the horrible dangers which are thereby caused? Is it not rather time to understand that there is no such thing as "England" or the "United States" or "France," in an abstract sense, but nations made up of immense numbers of individuals, mostly simple people anxious to do their job in peace, having no cause of quarrel with other folk unless provoked by campaigns of hate, having the same qualities of humanity, in London as in New York, in Pittsburgh as in Man-

chester, in Paris as in Chicago, struggling to get a little joy in life, mating, bringing up children, in no way eager for imperial destiny or adventures of war, having enough trouble already in keeping the wolf from the door and the body from the grave. Any American who comes to England may be sure of a friendly welcome from a friendly folk.

Any Englishman who crosses the sea to America is sure, as I know, of untiring kindness and "the glad hand." Why, then, this campaign of abuse in the newspapers? When there are differences of policy why not deal with them with gravity and dignity, and with an understanding that masses of people disagree with the actions of their governments and are not guilty of any policy which their governments for the time being adopt? Let us talk to each other as individuals and not in an abstract way as nations, as though all men in a nation thought alike. What Mr. Winston Churchill may say or do is not said or done by William Smith of Rosemary cottage, Exeter, who is pruning his fruit trees and thanking God for the sunshine. What Senator Lodge says or does is not necessarily the thought and action of John K. Blank of Greenwich, Conn., who is packing his four babes into a Tin Lizzie and smiling into the face of the world. There is no quarrel between William Smith and John K. Blank. There need never be a quarrel. They have no desire to kill each other. It would be very stupid if they did.

Let us cut away that canker of international jealousy and prejudice which has no reality in the souls of simple men and is a poison spread by sinister villains or stupid fools, in the political arena, the newspaper world, and the financial jungle. I am all for the simple folk who in every country that I know—and I have travelled a good part of the earth's surface—want to be left in peace in their fields and their factories with their women and their babes. It is they who are the victims of the villainy, and still more of the stupidity, of those above them in power and place.

How are we to cure this evil? There is no simple recipe. A friend of mine said, "Let us found an International Society for the Suppression of Imbeciles." There is something in that. I do think, quite seriously, that there might be an international society of journalists pledged in honor to abstain from all provocative writing about other nations and to denounce as unprofessional the conduct of any of their fellows who are found guilty of spreading slander and spite calculated to disturb the world's peace.

I believe that in the United States and in many nations of Europe there would be a great body of men to support such a movement on behalf of world peace and democratic fellowship. Wherever I have been lately in Europe I have found that men and women who may be said to belong to that vague

Says Schoolhouses should be used for public discussion meetings

(From *School Life*, published by the U. S. Bureau of Education).

"Should schoolhouses be used for discussion meetings?" asks Henry E. Jackson, specialist in community organization, Bureau of Education, and answers:

"Most assuredly. The aim of the community centre movement is to develop public schools into people's

class known as the "intellectuals"—that is to say writing men of decent reputation, artists of all kinds, musicians, and cultured middle class people who read good books and have some ideal higher than mere getting and spending, are all thinking much the same things about the present state of the world as it has been left by the heritage of war. They believe in peace. They are not out to capture other people's markets. They are anti-military. They have no hatred of other nations. They sympathize with the desire of the laboring masses to enjoy a little more of the fruits of labor, with a better margin of security in life. If the "intellectuals" of each nation entered into a fellowship for the promotion of the peace of the world it would have a tremendous effect upon the philosophy and ideas of civilized countries. It would be a safeguard against a revolution which otherwise will sweep across all densely populated areas of the world where men and women freshly escaped from the agony of war, or awakened to new knowledge by its calamity, find that nothing has been changed by that sacrifice of youth, that the profiteer is rampant above the ruin, that they are serfs of big trusts and the power of capital, and that the old philosophy of secret treaties, national rivalries, financial interests, and jealous diplomacies, is again enthroned over their bodies and their souls.

We need a prophet of God to change the evil in men's hearts and such a voice is not heard above the strife and anguish of this present time when many peoples are sinking again into the abyss of despair, and others are behaving with an appalling frivolity because their time has not yet come. We must await a greater leader than we now have, but men of good will, not great, but true, and kind, and endowed with that rare quality which we are pleased to call common sense, might make a beginning in the way of grace. As a newspaper man, I think the best beginning could be made in the newspaper world from which so much poison is distilled. Let us declare a war against the poisoners, and kill them by ridicule and by truth. Let us, men of the pen, and the printing-press, make a pact of peace among ourselves for the protection of all simple folk.

universities, and their principal activity is the forum in which citizens go to school to each other to equip themselves for the practice of citizenship."

Dr. Jackson believes that there should be no censorship on anything citizens want to say about social, economic, or political questions. The reasons, he says, which convince him that this is the true American principle and the right policy to pursue are as follows:

"1. It is the wise method. If you deny to a group of men the right to say what you think is wrong, it will not be long before you lose the right to say what you think is right. You can only retain freedom of speech for yourself by granting it to others. Defence of their freedom is self-defence.

"2. It is the safe method. When men are emotionally stirred over real or supposed wrongs they need the safety valve which speech gives them. It may be dangerous to permit some opinions to be expressed; it is more dangerous not to permit them to be expressed. The attempt to prevent an explosion in the boiler by sitting on the safety valve is obviously futile and foolish. It invites disaster. 'Suppression is the seed of revolution.' History has demonstrated it.

"3. It is the preventive method. All that most mental diseases, like physical ones, need for their cure, is exposure to the fresh air and sunshine. The weakness of wrong opinions stands exposed when submitted to the test of open discussion. They will thus be made harmless. But the merit of right opinions is revealed in the same way. To reject the bad and accept the good, from whatever source they come, is our aim. Free speech may cause temporary disturbance, as it did on a notable occasion once in the open forum at Nazareth, but truth is more desirable than peace, and the only place where one's peace is free of disturbance is the graveyard.

"4. It is the conservative method. A community can operate only on the basis of the lowest common denominator. It can undertake only those activities which public opinion will support. Since, therefore, proposed measures must go through the process of securing public opinion for their support, discussion is a conservative safeguard against hasty action. That is what gives to a freeman inalienable right to trial by jury. It prevents hasty, or unjust, action through enforced open discussion of his case by his fellow citizens.

"5. It is the democratic method. It stimulates respect for opinions, other than our own. 'A decent respect for the opinions of mankind' is a necessary safeguard against the illusion that we are infallible. It is the danger against which Oliver Cromwell warned the members of Parliament: 'I beseech you, gentlemen, by the mercies of Christ, to remem-

ber that it is possible for you to be mistaken.'

"6. It is the logical method. The task of correcting wrong opinion is a spiritual process, and requires a spiritual weapon—that is, discussion. You can not exterminate an idea with a club; you only scatter it. It must be met on its own ground. The only antidote to a wrong opinion is a right opinion. Hence, Jefferson's great dictum, 'Error of opinion may be tolerated, if reason is free to combat it.'

"7. It is the only workable method. There are only two ways to govern a Nation—by the sword or by public opinion, by force or by reason. If we adopt the method of reason, then freedom of speech must be complete, not partial. Where is the group of self-appointed men who have the authority or means for determining what subjects citizens may or may not discuss? If a man's speech issues in a material deed intended to hurt the community, then and then only is it a guilty act subject to law. But dogmatically to predetermine what opinions will be helpful or harmful is an impossibility. This is why the function of law is to deal with overt act, not with opinions.

"8. It is the only successful method. The attempt to combat opinion with force instead of with reason is a wearisome tale of monotonous failure. It is the method used by the Czar, the Kaiser, and by Lenine. That we, in the face of these facts, should keep on repeating demonstrated failures is amazingly stupid. No milder term describes it, because the method directly promotes the cause it seeks to destroy. The Christian religion owes Nero a big debt of gratitude for the free advertising he gave it by his persecution of it.

"9. It is the only progressive method. Unless there is freedom to discuss and criticize things as they are there is no chance to help them to become what they ought to be. It is the only method which makes improvement possible. Mark Twain clearly stated the necessity for free discussion when he said: 'My kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions. The country is the real thing, the eternal thing. Institutions are extraneous; they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged. To be loyal to rags, that is a loyalty of unreason. It belongs to monarchy; let monarchy keep it. The citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit, is disloyal; he is a traitor.'

"10. It is the only lawful method. Any American citizen who attempts to discourage freedom of discussion violates the organic law of the Nation. The first amendment of the Federal Constitution bluntly says freedom of speech must not be abridged. Ours is a Government by public opinion, and its prosperity depends on the freedom of forces which mold public opinion."

:o:

Toronto master printers have offered job compositors a bonus of 10 per cent though their agreement has a year to run.

The Union Movement Amongst School Teachers

Certain objections to the union movement which teachers should consider and settle to their satisfaction before joining the American Federation of Labor and the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress are answered by Field Secretary Lampson, of the American Federation of Teachers, who asks them, in determining the validity of these objections, to give consideration to the viewpoint of those teachers who are within the ranks of the organization.

Replying to the objection that teachers being to a profession and therefore should not affiliate with organized labor, union teachers feel that they are employees and can therefore properly affiliate upon this economic basis, if upon no other, with other employed people. In view of the pitiable compensation of the teachers and their lack of voice in determining matters of educational concern, recognition of a real profession is not granted to their calling. In fact, they are subject to economic oppression and to a form of intellectual repression. It is the union belief that teachers can be emancipated from these conditions only through the medium of a nation-wide business, protective and professional organization of the teachers themselves, backed by the millions of organized labor.

A second objection is that it would be "undignified" for teachers to affiliate with organized labor. Those who raise this objection place themselves in the position of maintaining that labor is undignified. Union teachers feel that taking the country as a whole, under the present conditions, teachers have not much dignity to lose, since they are not able to protect themselves. It seems that of all people those

least able to protect themselves are the teachers. They have not been accorded that respect, whether measured in terms of money or public regard, to which they are justly entitled by the character and value of their services.

A third objection is that oath of allegiance to the American Federation of Labor interferes with one's obligation to the Government. As a matter of fact the teachers are not required to subscribe to any oath of allegiance to the American Federation of Labor. Among the craft unions, when a member takes the obligation to the union, he in reality reaffirms his obligation of citizenship.

Still another objection is the strike. It should be understood that the American Federation of Labor and the Dominion Trades Congress grants to the American Federation of Teachers a charter of complete autonomy, meaning that the teachers have control over their own affairs. No teachers' union can be called out on strike, sympathetic or otherwise, by any labor organization. They are guaranteed in the A. F. of L. constitution freedom from such interference. Upon this subject President Gompers makes the following specific statement: "No local or state body nor the American Federation of Labor has the right or power to call upon the teachers under any circumstances, to strike. Therefore, since the American Federation of Teachers does not use the strike, the affiliation with it of local federations of teachers cannot in any way involve the teachers in a strike. While it is a matter outside the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor, the non-union strike policy of the American Federation of Teachers meets with our approval."

There have been no strikes among union teachers. There have been many strikes among non-union teachers.

Union teachers resort to publicity, organization and political action to get results.

Teachers are employees of the public. Their salaries and school laws depend upon political bodies, school boards, city councils, state legislatures and the federal Congress, whose membership and policies depend upon the voters.

The majority of teachers do not vote, but even if they did they would not constitute a sufficient proportion of the votes in any given community to get results unaided. It is therefore eminently advisable for them to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor and the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, whose membership is interested in education and will use its votes for the improvement of educational conditions.

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Business Girls' Hostels

At the present two projects are afoot for the establishment of business girls' hostels in Montreal. It is not a moment too soon, and there is no danger of the time being overdone because both the Anglican Church and the Salvation Army have separate schemes. The need has been a crying one for a long time past. The lot of the average young woman engaged in an office as stenographer or in a departmental store or factory, has always been a hard one when she has been obliged to live out of the parental home. On this continent the roomer is even more uncomfortable than the roomer in England and Scotland, for on the other side it is the custom of those who let "lodgings" as they are called, to supply meals if desired, so that a girl is not compelled to turn out into restaurants for her breakfast whether well or sick. For some years past Y.M.C.A.'s have provided comfortable and commodious boarding establishments for men and youths, but correspondingly little has been done for women and girls; yet they are essentially more in need of such provision on account of their sex. The Salvation Army has, however, established such hostels in several of the leading cities in the United States, and it is said that in Chicago and Los Angeles they have very fine institutions of this sort, where girl wage-earners are housed at a cost which is commensurate with their wages; where charity is not an element in the arrangements, but where self-respect is maintained. Naturally in such hostels there is a tendency to classify the girls according to the grades of employment, for which reason there should be ample room in this city for two such hostels; hence the public should be ready to help both projects. In the case of the Salvation Army, the old St. George's Home is to be converted from its present purpose as a military hostel into a girls' boarding house, since the demobilization process is now through. The conversion in this case is a sort of natural corollary, for it was largely through the war that the number of women-workers was greatly increased. It is for the initiation and carrying on of work of this character that the Jubilee Self-Denial Fund of the Salvation Army is to be launched in the week of May 15-22.

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*(London Daily Mail, March 20th.)**"Men must choose, and those who hesitate must be made to choose and to choose now."*

With sentences so typically Churchillian as that which we quote above, the Secretary of State for War, in an article in the *London Evening News*, seeks to rouse enthusiastic support for yet another Antwerp, not this time in the sphere of military strategy but in that of political tactics, with which he is far better acquainted.

Following his recent declaration that Labor is not yet fit to govern, he denounces the Labor Party, whom he calls the "Socialists" Party, as constituting the most dark and formidable menace with which, now that German militarism has been crushed, British civilisation is confronted. He describes them as being "possessed of a complete scheme of political doctrine involving the nationalization of all means of production, distribution, and exchange, the annihilation of private capital, and the inauguration of class warfare throughout the world on an international basis." That is the bogey from which, according to Mr. Churchill, all non-Socialists must flee to the outstretched arms of the Coalition.

We venture to disagree with Mr. Churchill. We do not agree that the Labor Party is chiefly Bolshevist in theory or practice. We do not agree that the Coalition is the only refuge from Socialism. And we certainly do not agree with his contention that the present Coalition Government, even broadly speaking, represents exclusively those forces which, acting together, without regard to former party differences, enabled the war to be won.

This is still, despite the bureaucratic tendencies of the Coalition, a constitutional country. The Labor Party can, and will, act only through its representatives in Parliament, as the Trades Union Congress indicated very definitely last week. Their power depends upon their numerical strength. That is decided by the British nation at the polls. We reiterate our profound trust in the political sense of the nation — and we would sooner rely upon it than upon the political strategy of the Coalition — with perfect assurance that it will no more be stampeded into Bolshevism by the extremists of the Labor Party than into the confused wings of the Coalition at the sight of the bogey which Mr. Churchill depicts and from which he so imperiously calls upon us to flee.

We discern signs that Mr. Churchill is obediently following the lead of his chief with another attempt to "fuse by fear."

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